

my language here; we are not supposed to use "you," but "the Senator from Oklahoma"—that is where you quoted me from. It was a debate on the Ford-Reid-Feinstein balanced budget amendment to put firewall in for Social Security.

So it is just be beyond me. I want to say that I hear so much about, "If 40-some-odd Governors can operate a balanced budget, why can't the Federal Government?" We do not have a capital account. Most Governors have capital accounts, if you understand how Governors operate. The Governors have an operating account. So it is all different. Governors do not print money like the Federal Government. So they have to balance the budget. But they find ways around it.

"I think the implementation of this amendment will work." That is a quote from me in that statement. "I think we can make it work." That is a quote from me in that statement. It is on page 2058 of March 1, 1994.

"If we want an issue, fine." That is in that statement. "Stay with Senator SIMON and Senator HATCH. Stay with them, and then we will have an issue when we go home with no balanced budget amendment."

I said that in that part of the statement from which I was quoted yesterday. Also, I might say in there I said, "I am just as worried about my grandchildren as anyone, and I think I have a pretty good idea about grandchildren."

That is in that statement. You did not read that. People did not read that out of my statement. You know, you could just lift these things out, hold up your hand, beat your chest, and wave the flag. But when you get down to it, what do you have? An issue and no amendment. Take the money out of Social Security.

We have heard a lot about a contract around here in the last 18 months. There is a contract for the seniors of this country, and that is Social Security. And they paint a broad brush with Medicare. Medicare has two parts: part A and part B. Part B has a surplus. We have been trying to correct part A now for 2 years. But they will not listen; \$124 billion was the first cut from the budget that was given to us.

So now we hear the objection of the senior Senator from Oklahoma yesterday to the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] to offer a substitute amendment that would put a firewall in to protect Social Security.

There are other different ideas about Social Security and about Medicare. But no country in the world, in my judgment, takes care of its citizens better. We are a capitalist country. What happens when the capitalists no longer need us? They fire us. And when they fire us, somebody has to try to pick up the pieces. Because we have been a strong democracy, government has picked up the pieces. We have retrained personnel. We have helped them with health care. We have tried

to feed them and clothe them until they could get back on their feet. But that is the story of democracy and government, and government has a part.

So, Mr. President, I hope that in the times ahead when we start quoting Senators that we quote them in context instead of out of context, and that we remember that there is a section 13301, the off-budget status of Social Security, the exclusion of Social Security from all budgets: Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the receipts and disbursements of the Federal old age and survivors insurance fund, and the federal disability insurance trust fund, shall not be counted—shall not be counted—as new budget authority outlays, receipts, or deficits or surplus for the purpose of the budget of the U.S. Government as submitted by the President, the congressional budget, or the Balanced Budget Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

That is the law. If you put the amendment on and pass it, then the law falls, and the amendment to the Constitution includes Social Security.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, how much time is remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHELBY). Eight and one-half minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me just conclude, and I understand the Senator from Wyoming is here and I will attempt to stay and listen to some of his discussion as well.

Mr. President, let me also complete one portion of this discussion. I only responded to the Senator from Oklahoma with respect to identical bills because I believe they are not identical. I do not want the Senator to sometime come to the floor and say, "Well, he opposed the Nunn amendment." But I actually supported the Nunn amendment. I have no problem with the Nunn amendment. I believe the Nunn amendment means those were not identical proposals. I do not want you to misunderstand that.

On that, the Senator is wrong. I believe these are not identical proposals. I did not oppose, nor did the Senator from Kentucky oppose, the Nunn amendment, for that matter.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want to make an observation about Social Security. So the Senator from Wyoming might think about this as he begins his presentation. I have heard him a number of times. Sometimes he and I are in agreement and sometimes not. He is always thoughtful, interesting, and bright, and I enjoy his speeches. I have written him privately. I think his leaving the Senate is a loss for the Senate. I still believe that, even though we have substantial disagreements. And I have respect for his opinions.

But I want him to understand that in 1983 when I served on the House Ways and Means Committee and became a part of a group of people who wrote the

Social Security Reform Act, in the archives of the warehouse that holds the markup documents for that markup, the Senator will find that I offered an amendment that very day 13 years ago, an amendment designed to head off what I feared would happen and what has happened under both Democrats and Republicans since, and that is we would increase a regressive payroll tax and use the regressive money from the payroll tax to do things other than save for Social Security.

I would like to just make this observation. I do not think there is one Member of the U.S. Senate—not one—who would vote affirmatively for the proposition as follows: Let us increase the payroll tax substantially for workers and for businesses and tell them that it will come out of their paycheck in the form of a dedicated tax to be put into a trust fund, but that we will, in fact, treat it as all other revenue with no distinction and that it will become, in fact, part of the ordinary revenue stream of Government with which we will balance the rest of the Federal budget. I do not think there is one man or woman in the Senate who would affirmatively vote for that kind of proposition. Yet, that is exactly what we have gotten from the 1983 Social Security Reform Act.

I would not have voted for it in a million years had I thought that was going to happen. When it began to happen, the first day of the markup I offered an amendment—and I have offered a dozen proposals since, in meetings with the Speaker of the House when I was in the House, and here in the Senate. We have technically changed the law thanks to section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act, authored by the Senator from South Carolina. But we have never altered the momentum of using the taxes that are taken from the paychecks to become part of the general stream of money to fund general fund obligations of the Federal Government.

I have had a generous amount of time to speak. The majority party has spoken generously this morning as well. Let me, as I sit down, say once again that although we have deep disagreements, I have great respect for Members of the other side of the aisle. But I believe in my heart that what we are doing—to the tune of hundreds and hundreds of billions of dollars of Social Security revenues—is fundamentally wrong. No business in America could do what the Government is doing. No business in America could say: By the way, I had a good year last year. Oh, I was short of money, but I took the money from my employees' pension plan and showed that as part of my income, and it turned out all right.

No business in America could do that because it is against the law. Yet that is exactly what happens in this budget scheme, proposed not only by the majority party but proposed in the past as well.

Mr. President, I will stay here and be anxious to listen. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I understand all time has expired on both sides at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota has a little over 3 minutes of time left.

Mr. INHOFE. I think he yielded the floor. I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GOVERNMENT REGULATION

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I will make this very brief, because several questions have come up concerning Social Security. I think it is a very critical thing. I happen to have been privileged to be presiding yesterday when the distinguished Senator from Wyoming, the senior Senator, Senator SIMPSON, who is the chairman of the Social Security Subcommittee and, I think we all agree, is the authority in this body on Social Security—he is here and will be responding to these questions in a much more informed and eloquent way than I would be able to respond to them. But I do have to respond to a few things that have been said by both my good friend, the Senator from North Dakota, and the Senator from Kentucky.

First of all, it was implied—I am sure it was not intentional—that I was only concerned about Republican grandchildren. Obviously, we are all concerned about our own. I opened my remarks yesterday on the floor making a reference to Senator Simon, who had talked about Nicholas Simon, his grandchild. I said I know he is just as emotionally involved with his children and grandchildren as I am, and Democrats are as much as Republicans. I hope that is understood.

But, when the distinguished Senator from North Dakota used the example of government control, with the rats eating the bread laced with arsenic, certainly if I had been there at the time I would have strongly supported an effort to stop these types of abuses and these types of unsanitary practices from taking place.

But there is a fine line here. You come to a point where, if you see that point, you have too much government control. I think that is one of the basic philosophical differences, and it is an honest difference, between Democrats and Republicans. I suggest to you, if you talk to Tim Carter of Skiatook, OK, who was called a couple of days before Christmas a few years ago and put out of business by the EPA, what he had done wrong was he moved his business from one area of Skiatook, OK, a very small city, to another area, and did not inform the EPA of this move.

I said, "They do not know that you moved?" He said, "Well, yes, I informed the district office, but they apparently did not inform the national office." For that reason they put him

out of business and they took his number away from him.

Then, when I finally got that corrected, he called me again and he said, "Now I have another problem. I have an inventory of 50,000 bottles." He had some kind of operation, horse spray or something, that they manufactured. Apparently there is a market for it. He said, "The EPA says I cannot use those bottles now, because during that brief time I was out of business they gave my number to somebody else." This is the type of thing.

Or Jim Dunn, who owned a third generation family lumber company in Tulsa, OK, who called me up and said, "The EPA put me out of business." This was a couple years ago. I was in the other body at the time. I said, "What did you do wrong?" He said he did not do anything wrong. He said, "I have been selling used crankcase oil to the same contractor for a couple years and they traced some of that to the Double Eagle Superfund Site and they say I am in violation. They are going to impose \$25,000 a day fines on me." This is a company that had its net increase the year before of something like \$50,000. He was out of business. The heavy hand of overregulation.

We corrected that situation. But if he had not called me, he probably would be out of business today. That contractor he sold his oil to 10 years ago was licensed by the Federal Government, by the State of Oklahoma, by Tulsa County. He did nothing illegal. Yet Government was regulating him out of business. This is what I am talking about. Have we gone beyond that point, to where we are the most overregulated society or country, to the point where we are not globally competitive? I say, yes, we are overregulated.

MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from North Dakota talked about star wars. He and I have had this discussion. There is, I guess, nothing to be gained other than to update it and put it in the context of today's debate, but it always offends me when we talk about star wars. Star wars is a phrase that was coined to make it look like this is something fictitious, something imaginary, when in fact there is a very real threat that is facing the United States of America, that of missile attack.

We know the Russians have their SS-25. They have the SS-18, which is a MIRV'd missile with a number of warheads capability, some 10 warheads. We know the Chinese have a missile that can reach us. We know the North Koreans are in the final stages of developing the Taepo Dong missile that originally was going to reach the United States by 2002. Now we feel, our intelligence community feels, it will be the year 1999.

We were on schedule from 1983 to protect ourselves against a missile attack, so that we would have protection, or a

defense system in place, by the year 1999. We are not talking about star wars. We are not talking about even space-based launchers. We are talking about technology that is alive today. We have bought and paid for and have almost \$50 billion invested in 22 Aegis ships that are floating now, paid for. They have launching capability. They can knock down missiles coming in. But they cannot knock down missiles coming in, ICBM's, that would come in from above the atmosphere. So we are trying merely to take that \$50 billion that has already been spent, spend \$4 billion more so they can reach above the atmosphere and knock down a missile that might be coming from North Korea.

We would have some 30 minutes' time between the time a missile is launched and our technology tells us when that was launched. I am an aviator. I flew an airplane around the world a couple of years ago. I used the global positioning system, that is satellites, for navigation all the way around. We can know what is happening around the world today. The technology is there.

So, if a missile is launched in North Korea, we know it is coming, we have 30 minutes to do something about it, but you cannot hit it because it is above the upper tier. All we need to do is spend about 10 percent more of the money that we have spent to be able to give the capability to knock it down. That is not star wars. I do not know where they come up with this \$70 billion or \$60 billion. The CBO came out and said it would cost about \$31 billion to \$60 billion more, over the next 14 years, if we installed and made a reality all of the proposed missile defense systems. We are not suggesting that. No one is.

The other day on this floor I said it is like going into a used car lot and saying I want to buy all the cars. You do not need to do that. You get the one that works, the one that fits your needs, and that takes care of it. That is the way we are in our missile defense system. I hate to use that as an example. I hate to be redundant by coming back over and over again, talking about it, but it has to be talked about.

When the distinguished Senator from North Dakota said we are talking about a budget next week about spending \$11 billion more than the Pentagon wants—yes, I will be supporting that. Those of us who are conservatives over here, we want cuts in programs. We have to defend America. I was so proud of the chiefs of the four services testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, who came in and—this is the first time, I think, in the history of this country this has happened—they defied their own President and said we have to have \$20 billion more in order to defend America. This is what they said.

They are not the top. There is the Secretary of Defense, appointed by the President; not the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John